his own. If the serious riots at Arrah had tested the Muslims, the Moplah Rebellion set the same ordeal for the Hindus. After the arrest of the Ali brothers and of Gandhi and the subsequent suspension of civil disobedience, divisions once more developed. Hindus were embittered by stories of forced conversions to Islam, and the *shuddhi* movement, which was started to win converts to Islam and receive them back into Hinduism, equally enraged the Muslims.

Communalism increased between 1922 and 1924. Neither the Unity Conferences nor the Nehru Report (1928) really closed the breach. During the second civil disobedience movement the picketing of the shops of Muslims who had not participated in the movement was resented. But many Muslims joined the Congress and the policy of mass contacts among them which Pandit Nehru encouraged met with a certain success. In the Provincial Elections (1937) the Congress succeeded in winning a number of Muslim seats and in every Congress province there are Muslim Ministers. But this policy has infuriated the Muslim League, which has done all that it could to discredit the ministries and to fan communal conflict. In Cawnpore recently the Muslim Minister, Mr. Ibrahim, was assaulted and there have been numerous riots. At the time of writing the Muslim League leader, Mr. Jinnah, is having conversations with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress President, but the results have not yet been published.

It is worth referring to the opinion expressed to me by one of the leading Congress Muslims and a keen Socialist. In his view, the communal problem, is *£n* inheritance from "feudalism.[55] It is more social and economic than religious. A free India would have produced a strong *bourgeoisie* which might well have swept away the vestiges of feudalism. (This word is perhaps a misnomer in India, for the Hindu social order is not the same as Western feudalism, nor is the part